[50 cont.]

782 arrow in the first case and saves a person sentenced to death in a dream through the blood of a sacrificed animal in the second. (h) Furthermore, in the second case we find an apparent substitution of the personality of the individual, or better still, a partial sacrifice of the same on his handing over for sacrifice an animal owned by him. (i) In the sacrifice of animals of a ritual funerary character, we can distinguish the following effects obtained: First the propitiation of the dead man's spirit which, as may be seen in the chapter corresponding to "Magic and Funerals," 769 can be beneficial, neutral, or malicious. This depends on whether all the considerations due to his status are maintained or not, or if all or part of the taboos established in this respect in the course of the social life of the community are violated or not. Second, the confirmation of the belief of a life beyond the tomb as a reflection of the earthly life. The sacrifice, in the sense that the dead animal accompanies its owner into the next life and places him on the same social plane that he occupied in this one among his fellow spirits there, confirms such a belief in the almost material life beyond the grave. [51]

IV

Sickness and Medicine

771 If we take into account the essential characteristics of
813 primitive mentality, we should remember that their world is
81 what we might call metaphysical, since the objects that surround them do not have a real existence as they do not look at them with a truly objective discernment but allow their imagination to be deceived by the strange things around them so that these become supernatural beings, all animated, not in the physical sense of movement but in their capacity to do good or evil, or to intervene in any manner whatever in the lives of men, of other beings, and of the cosmos in general. All that relates to the surroundings of primitive people: rocks, plants, animals, natural phenomena ... , are active beings in the best sense of the word, capable of intervention and worthy of the Indian's respect,

[51 cont.]

fear, or admiration. The primitive has not at this stage reached the discernment necessary to establish the logical relation between phenomena and their real causes, but establishes a magic relationship that in the majority of cases does not correspond to any concrete or objective reality.

This manner of thinking and of feeling is especially reflected in the facts related to the individual himself and his organic reactions and, essentially, in the variations to which his organism is susceptible in the biological or pathological sense. To the primitive sicknesses are not ills caused by pathogenic germs (we say this in the general sense as there are some exceptions) or by internal or external disorders but are the result of the harmful actions of some being — animal, human, mineral, or vegetable — who is the sick man's potential enemy or one whom he has injured in some way or another, especially in violating the social ritual arrangements which at first were related almost exclusively to the totem and which then gradually evolved toward diverse forms of magic which lead him to a real investigatory curiosity.

This curiosity is not limited, as might be expected, to the simple act of knowing what phenomenon or what individual spirit might have caused the sickness, but sets out to understand the whole matter in order to put into [52] practice a method of cure — it does not matter of what kind — which will bring one back to the state of health, to normality, and remove him from contact with the dangerous world of the spirits.

For this reason, in the following pages we shall find ourselves confronted with this phenomenon: if the causes of the sickness are magic or, in more general terms, supernatural, the methods of curing applied must be of the same type. The world of the spirits is considered to be superior to the normal world of the living, because it is unknown or partially so. The struggle then, face to face, of individual against spirit will be unequal because the latter — the spirit — is aided by supernatural forces with which the living are unacquainted. For this reason it is indispensable that shamans should be called in — the intermediaries between man and spirit, or that he employ, when

[156 cont.]

554 556 781 3. The individual. Another interesting social aspect related to magic is in connection with the status derived from wealth, expressed by the greater or lesser number of heads of stock owned by an individual. But apart from this strictly material aspect, magic has powers which when put into action assist the individual to acquire a coveted position or to improve one he already has, as is done, for example, in the cultural aspect of language, the mastery of which with the use of fine turns of speech can give to the speaker the highly esteemed and prestigeful position of arbitrator, or intermediary, in their interclan struggles, a position that is often confused with that of chief.

Within this field of magic activity we can cite as examples the following:

a) The sacrifice of animals, which not only gives prestige to the living but also establishes the status of the deceased in his life beyond the tomb.

b) The use of diverse charms such as those for love, for making one rich, for obtaining respect, prestige, and affection, etc.

c) The custom of an individual eating the leavings of food of individuals of special physical characteristics, especially those having qualities superior to his own, as for example, a white skin, a beard, etc., with the end of becoming more outstanding and improving his status.

d) As an indirect form of elevating status, we have the case of the Indian Kurĭra-Pâta, who swallowed a charm and took a slave girl for wife in order to heal the wounds he received from the Kusina Indians. [157] The slave, because of a dream, passed to the category of wife, thus ascending the social scale.

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121 771 781 A great part of the Guajiro's personality is molded by this institution of his culture, and many of his reactions would be inexplicable without previous knowledge of the process of magic, the fields of its functioning, the ways of life it has created, the

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181 771 789 mental outlook it originates – imbued, as we have affirmed, with an animistic determinism – and the beliefs it implies in the different angles of Guajiro human activity, as it will have been possible to observe throughout the length of the work we are presenting. So much is this so that the very basic impulses of the individual are seen in many circumstances to be influenced by magic.

834 a) To prove this in the sexual aspect it suffices for us to cite again some facts already described and explained in previous chapters, such as the taboos imposed on the shamans, especially when they are women and according to which they should cohabit exclusively with their husbands, avoid caresses, motions, prolonged coitus, and pregnancy, and never exercise their functions during their menstrual periods. Besides this, it can be seen in the lifting of sexual taboos, or better said, the permitted violation of the norms which rule the community in this respect during the celebration of the Fiesta of the Kid, which reaches the point of allowing the consummation of the carnal act among the unmarried, an act absolutely prohibited in their society in normal times and which would provoke – as fully explained in the corresponding section – compensation payment and even interclan war with its tremendous consequences of persecution, annihilation, and slavery. It can also be observed in what we called the "proof of virginity," which permits a male to caress the bodies of young women who take part in the fiesta, an action prohibited, as in the previous case, in normal times. [832] Among the charms we also found some that act in this way, and also significant is the act of rubbing bixa ointment on the genital organs and breasts to make them more effective in love-making.

262 b) In the matter of food we saw proofs of the influence of magic, especially related to the life of the shaman, particularly when he is in one of his "illumination" trances or in a curing ceremony. This influence also shows itself in the shaman's initiation, in the initiation of [158] young women, in the magic contamination of food by some animals which can cause sickness in newborn children, and in the prohibition against eating the flesh of the hawk which produces sterility in young and old of both sexes. Also, it is found in relatives being forbidden to eat the

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

Foreword

THIS book will take the reader to a peculiar corner of South America, the Guajira peninsula, the shores of which are washed by the warm Caribbean. It has a different climate and nature to those of other, adjacent, parts of the continent. Its inhabitants are Indians who differ largely from most of their fellows in our day, for they are warlike, proud and independent. They are the only people of mounted nomads among the natives of America and they are led by powerful chiefs. They have longest maintained their independence and their remarkable customs. They have been left in peace largely because their country is arid and unattractive, but also because they are not to be trifled with.

I have made three journeys among them. The first, in 1920, was the most exciting and fruitful. Three of us went, my wife, our photographer, Ottar Gladtvet, and I, and we remember it as though it were yesterday. It is that journey which provided the bulk of my material. I supplemented my observations of Indian life by a further short visit that my wife and I made to the peninsula in the 'thirties and by the results of some native researchers.

In 1955 I returned to Guajira, wanting to see how it was after the crisis caused by the recurrent droughts of the last decade. Almost all the cattle were said to have been killed and half the population to have perished or emigrated. When I got there, however, conditions had improved. Much was just as it always had been, and there is every indication that this fine and worth-while Indian people will overcome its difficulties and retain its individuality in many respects.

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

175 During the Colonial Period, the *Goajiro* were hostile toward the Span-
648 iards. After 1830, however, as a result of better treatment from the Whites, thanks in part to the efforts of Juan MacPherson, they become more friendly. Present authorities in the *Goajiro* region merely regulate frontier traffic.

797 The attempts by the Capuchin Fathers to alter their ways of life have
177 been unsuccessful. Except for the thin Catholic veneer, noticeable in baptismal rites and Spanish names, *Goajiro* social life seems to have been little affected by centuries of contact with Hispanic culture. Foreign influence is more apparent materially in iron implements, utensils, guns, textiles, and ornaments. All the domestic animals are of Spanish origin.

161 As a result of tuberculosis, smallpox, and venereal disease, the *Goajiro*
164 are gradually dying out, and the population estimates found in the literature have become smaller and smaller, the most recent indicating a scant 18,000.

PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

142 The *Goajiro* are usually described as aggressive and untrustworthy, of
[18] medium or small stature (cf. J. A. Mason, 1926, pp. 39, 52), copper colored, with jet-black hair, dark eyes rather obliquely set, a broad and blunt nose, and a large mouth (pl. 72, *bottom, right*). Within the tribes there are physical differences which seem to correspond with social status,
[565] the lower classes being smaller and more Indian in appearance, while those of higher rank are more often of a greater stature, with curlier hair and larger noses.

LANGUAGE

197 The *Goajiro* language belongs to the *Arawakan* family. There is, however, no good analysis of it. A grammar, "replete with errors" according to Simons, was published by Rafael Caledon in 1878. Various word lists have been published from time to time.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.**—The *Goajiro* have a poor opinion of agriculture, and only
[55] the poorer sibs practice it. The one fertile part of the peninsula is near Punta Espada. Here the land is well cultivated, and plantains, maguey, onions, coca, sugarcane, and grain are grown. Tobacco, bananas, maize, gourds, manioc, sweetpotatoes, millet, beans, and watermelons also are raised. Those who own cattle grow only small patches of quick-maturing corn for the purpose of making chicha beer.

22 **Hunting, fishing, and gathering.**—Hunting, fishing, and gathering occupy a minor place. Deer, armadillos, land tortoises, and rabbits are